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Program and Constitution

of the

Communist Party of America

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CONSTITUTION AND PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

**Adopted by the Joint Unity Convention of the Com-
munist Party and the United Communist
Party of America**

Capitalist society is distinguished from all previous forms of society by the production of commodities on the basis of capital. Through the private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie, a small group in society, have reduced the great majority of the people to the status of proletarians and semi--proletarians. The working class is compelled to sell its labor power to the owners of the machinery of production, and have become wage slaves who, by their labor, create profits for the ruling classes of society.

During the last century the development of machinery means of communication and technique led to the extension of the capitalist system of production throughout the world. As a result of the consequent formation of large industrial enterprises, the small industrial enterprises and the small independent manufacturers were expropriated. This whole class, the petit bourgeoisie,

is continually being reduced to impotency in social, political and economic life.

The development of technique in production and distribution led to the division and sub-division of labor, the use of woman and child labor, and the substitution of unskilled and semi-skilled workers for craftsmen and artisans. The relative decrease in the demand for human labor created a condition wherein the supply of labor exceeds the demand. The dependence of labor upon capital increased. The degree of exploitation is intensified.

This economic development within the nation, together with the continual sharpening of rivalry in the world market, makes the sale of commodities, the production of which is ever increasing, more and more difficult. The inevitable result of this development of productive power in capitalist society is over-production. This over-production brings about industrial crises which ruin the small manufacturers still more, creates a further dependence of wage labor upon capital, and accelerates deterioration of the conditions of the working class.

Manufacturers are compelled to perfect their machinery. This perfection of machinery is complemented by a constant displacement of laborers, constituting the industrial reserve army. The inevitable extension of production brings with it a tremendous development of the productive forces, causes excess of supply over demand,

over-production, a glutting of the market, and recurring crises—resulting in a vicious circle. On the one hand, there is an excess of the means of production and products; on the other, laborers without employment and without means of existence. The two levers of production—machinery and labor power—are unable to function because capitalism prevents productive forces from working and the products from circulating unless they are first turned into capital. The over-supply of machinery and labor power hinders this process. The mode of production rebels against the form of exchange and the bourgeoisie stands convicted of incapacity to further manage their own social production forces.

These contradictions, which are inherent in bourgeois society, increase the discontent of the exploited masses. The number of the proletariat is continually augmented. Their solidarity is strengthened, and the struggle with their exploiters becomes ever more acute. This and the improvement of technique, concentrating the means of production and socializing the process of labor, prepares the ground for the social revolution—the replacement of the capitalist system by a Communist society. This is the final aim of the Communist Party of America.

Through the systematic organization of production, distribution and exchange, capitalism tends to overcome anarchy in social production. Mighty corporations (syndicates, trusts, cartels) rise in place of the numer-

ous small competitors. Finance capital is combined with industrial capital. The finance oligarchy, because of superior organization, becomes the dominant power in the whole economic system. Monopoly supplants free competition. The individual capitalist becomes the corporation capitalist. Organized capital tends to remove the anarchy of competition within each nation.

With the development of imperialism in each nation the contradictions, the international competitive conflicts, the anarchy of world production and exchange became more acute. Competition between the highly organized imperialist states and groups of states led directly to the world war. Greed for profits compels the capitalist-imperialist national groups to fight among themselves for new markets, new fields for the investment of capital, new sources of raw materials, and for the cheap labor power of colonial peoples.

These imperialist states were dividing among themselves the territory of the entire world. Millions of proletarians and peasants of Africa, Australia, Asia and the Americas were being reduced to a most degrading wage slavery. In the struggle for these spoils the imperialist states met each other in a mortal combat—the Imperialist World War.

The World War marks an epoch—the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the beginning of the proletarian revolution. With the disintegration of imperialism

come uprisings among the exploited masses in the colonies and in the small independent nations. The imperialist armies disintegrate. The ruling classes are unmasked and their incapacity to further direct the destiny of the world's working masses is exposed. Armed insurrection of the proletariat, resulting in victorious revolution, as in Russia; and a series of open armed conflicts with the state power of the bourgeoisie, as in Germany. This is typical of the conditions throughout the world.

There is only one power that can save humanity—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist order is in decay. It can prevail no longer. The final outcome of the capitalist system of production is chaos. Only the great producing class, the working class, can bring order out of this chaos. The working class must destroy the capitalist state, root and branch. The working class must establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, based upon Soviet power, in order to crush both the resistance of capitalist counter-revolution at home and imperialist onslaught from without.

Imperialism arms itself for the final conflict against the world revolution. Under the guise of a league of nations, or other similar alliances, it is making a last desperate effort to bolster up the capitalist system. Through such alliances it aims to direct all its power against the ever-growing proletarian revolution. There

is but one answer to this huge conspiracy of collapsing capitalism. The proletariat must conquer political power and direct it against its class enemies and set in motion all the forces of social revolution.

In order to achieve victory in the world revolution, the working class must attain unity and co-ordinate all its forces. This victory cannot be realized unless the working class forever completely breaks with all forms of bourgeois perversion of socialism which have dominated the Social-Democratic and Socialist parties of the world.

One form of this perversion is opportunism—social chauvinism, socialist in name but chauvinist in fact. These opportunists have betrayed the interests of the working class under the false watchwords of the defense of the fatherland. Witness the imperialist world war. This opportunism takes root in the wanton robbing of colonial and weak nations by imperialist states. The super-profits acquired through this exploitation have enabled the bourgeoisie to bribe the leaders of the working class. They have placed the upper strata of the workers in a privileged position by guaranteeing them, in time of peace, a tolerable existence and by taking their leaders into the service of the bourgeoisie.

The opportunists and social-chauvinists are servants of the bourgeoisie. They are enemies of the proletariat, especially is this true when, together with the capital-

ists they are suppressing the revolutionary movement of their own and other countries.

As Socialist workers begin to awaken to the treacherous character of the, so-called Socialist parties, and to desert them, the leaders of those parties make desperate efforts to hold their following. These efforts sometimes take the form of indorsing the Communist International "with reservations." Another device is to indorse Soviets in Russia "but not here." Another is to pose as "defending the Russian Soviet Republic from invasion by foreign imperialists." All these are evasions of revolutionary duty. The Communist International is an organization for waging class warfare for the liberation of the working class; there can be no reservations in indorsement and affiliation with it. Loyalty "with reservations" is treachery. Indorsement and defense of Soviets in Russia with failure to advocate the Soviet form of proletarian dictatorship in the United States is hypocrisy.

Those who attempt by such means to hold revolutionary workers in a position midway between the old bourgeois Socialist-reform position and the revolutionary Communist position, are known as "centrists." Without the courage and intelligence to lead the workers to revolution, yet unwilling to admit their character as friends of the bourgeois state, these centrist leaders confuse and obstruct the development of the proletarian revolution.

The Socialist Party of the United States is a mixture of elements varying from extreme social-chauvinism to centrism. The revolutionary and semi-revolutionary membership brought into it or awakened within it by the world war and the Russian revolution, compelled the Socialist Party nominally to oppose the entry of the United States into the war. The membership which compelled the party to adopt the mildly anti-war platform has been ruthlessly expelled. The leaders, in defiance of the mandate of the membership, during the war took official part in promoting war loans and patriotic measures. Since the close of the war the party spokesmen have completed the bankruptcy and disgrace of the Socialist Party by pledging it to support the capitalist state (even against proletarian revolution).

After attempting to keep their party from disintegrating by a cowardly indorsement of the Communist International "with reservations," and after being repulsed by the Communist International and rebuked before the world for their cowardice, the Socialist Party leaders are now engaged in slandering the Communist International and trying by deliberate falsehood to keep their membership from understanding it.

Driven by the opposition of the working class out of the Second International, to which they, by the logic of their program, still belong, the Socialist Party leaders now try to form a "Fourth International" of most of the

opportunist parties and the centrist parties of the world. The Communist Party will continuously expose this "Fourth International" as having the same basis politically as the Second International, which is now buried forever under the blood and crime of the world war to which it gave its support. The Second International is a reeking corpse, and the "Fourth International" is its still-born child.

The Communist International alone conducts the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation. The Communist Party of America is its American section. Not alone in words but in deeds is the Communist International gaining more and more the sympathy and support of the proletariat of all countries. Its political content and ideology restore Marxism and realize the Marxian revolutionary teachings.

The social revolution will replace the private ownership of the means of production and distribution by collective ownership, systematize the organization of production in order to secure the welfare of all members of society, abolish class divisions, liberate oppressed humanity, and put an end to all exploitation of one part of society by another.

The establishment of a proletarian dictatorship is indispensable to the attainment of the social revolution. The proletariat must destroy the bourgeois state. It must establish a proletarian state, and thereby crush

the resistance of the capitalists. In order to fulfill its great historic mission, the proletariat must organize itself into an independent political party—a Communist Party—which opposes all the bourgeois and opportunist Socialistic parties. Such a party is the Communist Party of America. It leads the workers in the class struggle and reveals to the working masses the irreconcilable conflict of interests between the exploiters and the exploited. The Communist Party of America points out the historic significance and the essential conditions of the approaching social revolution. The Communist Party of America, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian movement, calls upon those of the toiling and exploited masses who accept its principles and tactics to join the ranks.

The Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International, defines the aims and processes of the proletarian revolution as follows:

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

“Between capitalist and Communist society there lies a period of revolutionary transformation from the former to the latter. A state of political transition corresponds to this period, and the state during this period can be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.” (Marx.)

Through the private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie exploit and suppress the broad masses in all capitalist countries. Bourgeois republics, even the most democratic, through skilful use of such watchwords as "public opinion," "equality before the law," and "national interest," as opposed to class interests, only veil this suppression and exploitation. Bourgeois democracy is in reality bourgeois dictatorship. The proletarian or Soviet democracy can be realized only through a transformation of all organizations of the broad laboring masses—proletarian and semi-proletarian (that is, the vast majority of the population)—into a single and permanent basis of state apparatus, local as well as national.

The proletarian revolution comes at a moment of economic crisis precipitating a political crisis. The politico-economic crisis causes a collapse in the capitalist order. The role of the "Social-Democratic" parties is to attempt to solve the political crisis by a coalition of an "all-Socialist" government within the bourgeois State machinery, thus, by the deception of the workers enabling the capitalist State to live through the economic crisis.

The proletariat, once having learned the disastrous consequences of "Social-Democratic" bolstering up of the bourgeois State, throws its support to the Communists. Under pressure of the economic chaos, and led

by the Communist Party, the proletariat forms its organs of working class power entirely separate and distinct from the bourgeois State. These organs are the Workers' Soviets (councils) which arise at the moment of the revolutionary outbreak and attain a dominant position, during the course of the revolution.

By the use of force, the proletariat destroys the machinery of the bourgeois State and establishes the proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power.

The proletarian State, like every other state, is an organ of suppression and coercion, but its machinery is directed against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break the desperate resistance of the exploiters who use all the power at their command to drown the revolution in blood. The proletarian state aims to make this resistance impossible. Under a proletarian dictatorship, which is a provisional institution, the working class establishes itself as the ruling class in society. After the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken, after it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the labor strata, then only do all classes vanish, the proletarian dictatorship disappears and the State dies out.

The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the suppression and coercion of the working masses. Parliamentary government is nothing but an expression of bourgeois supremacy—the form of

authority of the capitalist class over the working class. Bourgeois democracy is nothing but a concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois democracy, through its parliamentary system, fraudulently deprives the masses and their organizations of any real participation in the administration of the State.

Under a Workers' Government—the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet power—the organizations of the masses dominate. Through these organizations, the masses themselves administer. Bourgeois democracy, manifesting itself through its parliamentary system, deprives the masses of participation in the administration of the capitalist state by a division of legislative and executive power, by unrecallable mandates, and by numerous agencies of social, political and economic suppression.

Under a proletarian government, the Soviets, acting as real organs of state power, merging the legislative and executive function, and by the right of recall, bring the masses into close contact with the administrative machinery. This unity is further promoted by the fact that under the Soviet government the elections themselves are conducted, not in conformity with arbitrary, territorial demarcations, but in accordance with industrial divisions. The proletarian dictatorship, in the form of a Soviet government, thus realizes true, proletarian democ-

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racY—a democracy of and for the working class and against the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolution is a long process. It begins with the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ends only with the complete transformation of the capitalist system into the Communist society.

POLITICAL ACTION

Every class struggle is a political struggle. The object of the class struggle, which inevitably develops into civil war, is the conquest of political power. A political party that shall organize and direct this struggle is indispensable for the acquisition of this power. When the workers are under the leadership of a well-organized and experienced political party that has strictly defined objectives and a program of immediate action, in foreign as well as domestic policy, then only will the acquisition of political power cease to be a casual episode, and become the starting point for the gradual realization of the Communist society.

The class struggle demands that the general guidance of the various expressions of the proletarian movement (such as labor unions, co-operative associations, cultural-educational societies, election campaigns, etc.) be cen-

tered in one organization. Only a political party can be such a unifying and guiding center. The class struggle of the proletariat demands a concentrated propaganda to throw light upon various stages of the conflict. It makes imperative a unified point of view to direct, at each given moment, the attention of the proletariat to definite tasks that are to be accomplished by the working class as a whole.

The Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International, is that part of the working class which is most advanced, intelligent, self-sacrificing and class conscious. It is therefore the most revolutionary part of the working class. The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class as a whole. It differs from the general mass of workers in that it takes a comprehensive view of the entire historical development of the working class. At every turn of the road, it endeavors to defend the interests, not of separate groups or trades, but of the entire working class. The Communist Party is the organized political power by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads the whole proletarian and semi-proletarian mass.

During the proletarian dictatorship the Communist Party will continue to systematically direct the work of the Soviets and revolutionized industrial unions. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the proletarian

movement, will direct the struggle of the entire working class on the political and economic fields. It will guide the proletariat in the field of education and social life. The Communist Party must be the animating spirit in the Soviets, revolutionized industrial unions, and in all proletarian organizations.

I. Mass Action

In countries where the historical development furnished the opportunity, bourgeois democracy served the working class as a means of organizing itself against capitalism. This process will go on in all countries where the conditions for a proletarian revolution are not yet ripe. The workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. The capitalist class screens its deeds of violence behind the parliamentary system. Centuries of capitalist rule have placed at its disposal the equipment and attainments of modern civilization. To achieve its end the capitalist class resorts to lies, demagoguery, bribery, persecution, and murder.

The revolutionary epoch upon which the world has now entered forces the proletariat to resort to militant methods—mass action, leading to direct collision with the bourgeois state. Mass action culminates in armed insurrection and civil war. The centralized power of the capitalist class manifests itself through control of the state machinery—the army, the navy, police,

courts, bureaucracy, etc. It is through such means that the capitalist class imposes its will upon the workers. Mass action is the proletarian revolt against the oppression of the capitalist class. It develops from spontaneous activities of the workers massed in large industries. Among its initial manifestations are mass strikes and mass demonstrations.

The Communist Party will educate and organize the working masses for such direct political action, i.e., mass strikes and mass demonstrations, and will lead them in these struggles. These struggles form the major campaign of the Communist Party. It is through such struggles that the working masses are prepared for the final conflict for power. This can be nothing else but a direct struggle between the armed forces of the capitalist state on the one hand and the armed forces of the proletarian revolution on the other. In these mass strikes and demonstrations large masses of workers are united. New tactics and a new ideology are developed. As these strikes grow in number and intensity, they acquire political character through unavoidable collision and open combat with the capitalist state which openly employs all its machinery to break their strikes and crush the workers' organizations. This finally results in armed insurrection aimed directly at the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This objective cannot be attained unless

the entire mass movement is under the control and guidance of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party will keep in the foreground the idea of the necessity of violent revolution for the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat based on Soviet power.

The Communist Party will systematically and persistently propagate the idea of the inevitability of and necessity for violent revolution, and will prepare the workers for armed insurrection as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state.

Parliamentary Action

The Communist Party of America recognizes that the revolutionary proletariat must use all means of propaganda and agitation to win over the exploited masses. One of these means is parliamentary activity. The work of Communist representatives in parliament will consist chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform. They should unmask and denounce the enemies of the masses. Our representatives in parliament shall further the ideological unification of the masses who, captivated by democratic illusions, still put their trust in parliaments. The Communist Party will utilize parliament as a means of winning especially such backward elements of the working masses as ten-

ant farmers, farm workers and the semi-proletariat. All work within the parliaments must be completely subordinated to the task of the mass struggles outside of parliament.

Communist representatives shall make all their parliamentary activity dependent on the work of the Party outside of parliament. They should regularly propose demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purpose of propaganda, agitation and organization. All this activity must be carried on under the direction of the Party and its Central Executive Committee.

The bourgeois parliament, one of the most important instruments of the bourgeois state machinery, can no more be won by the proletariat than the bourgeois order in general. It is the task of the proletariat to destroy the entire machinery of the bourgeois state, not excluding its parliamentary institutions.

The parliamentary system of the American bourgeois government is based on a rigid constitution. Its authority is divided among forty-eight states. Each of these states has its own legislature, governor, courts, etc. The American capitalist state, screened by bourgeois democracy, is the machinery in the hands of the capitalists for crushing all working class aspirations. Large masses of Negroes, migratory and foreign born workers

are disfranchised. The working class of America now faces a practically naked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The American bourgeois State was quick to recognize the Communist parties in America as its historic and deadly enemies. It employed all its power in a vicious onslaught against them. Being outlawed, the Communist parties reorganized as underground, illegal parties. Thus, for the present, the Communist Party of America is prevented from participating in the elections under its own name.

While the Communist Party of America wages its major campaigns and activities through the mass struggles of the working class outside of parliament, it will also organize the necessary legal machinery for participation in municipal, state, and national election campaigns. It shall, wherever possible, enter its candidates in opposition to all bourgeois and social-reform parties.

LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

I.

The trade unions arose as organs of the working class to check the growing exploitation. In their early form the trade unions were organizations of skilled workers in separate crafts. Modern industry has developed the

machine worker. The machine workers are massed together in the basic industries and constitute the militant factor in the class struggle. The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process renders useless the isolated craft strike and makes necessary the organization of the workers on a wider scale. Industrial unions are a better form of organization for the workers in their struggle for higher wages and improved conditions, under capitalism. Craft unions have not kept pace with the development of capitalist organization and still retain to a large degree the ideology of property, contract and obsolete craft division.

Industrial unions alone are not sufficient for the successful carrying out of the revolution. Syndicalism denies the necessity for establishing the proletarian state during the transition period from capitalist society to Communist society. Revolutionary syndicalism and industrialism are a step forward only in comparison with the old, counter-revolutionary ideology of Socialist parties. But in comparison with the revolutionary Marxian doctrine, i.e., with Communism, Syndicalism and Industrialism, are a step backward.

The Socialist movement in America originally followed the policy of maintaining contact with labor organizations and of propagating their ideas within them. Impatience with the slowness of the process of educating and leading the workers by working within the re-

actionary trade unions gave rise to the attempt during the period of 1895 to artificially stimulate the organization of brand new "class-conscious" labor unions, such as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The opportunist policy of the "yellow" reformist socialists of catering to and supporting the reactionary leaders of the trade unions increased this discouragement and led to the abandonment of the struggle within the old unions by the more advanced worker and to the formation in 1905 of the I. W. W. as an entirely new labor union, outside of and in opposition to the existing trade unions.

The policy of the I. W. W. and similar organizations of artificially creating new industrial unions has been shown by experience to be mistaken. Such efforts result in isolating the most advanced workers from the main body of organized labor and strengthen the control of the trade unions by reactionary leaders. The members of the trade unions as a rule have not deserted the old unions for the new ones: The old unions become more reactionary when the revolutionary workers leave them. This situation represents a great danger, for without the support of the labor unions, the success of the proletarian revolution is impossible. The experience of the Hungarian and German revolutions fully establishes the fact that if the American labor unions remain under the control of such leaders as those who grossly betrayed the workers during the World War, and who

serve the bourgeoisie against the workers in every struggle, they will be manipulated as deadly implements for the defeat of the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party condemns the policy of the revolutionary elements leaving the existing unions. These elements must remain with the large mass of organized workers. The Communists must take an active and leading part in the every-day struggles of the unions. They must carry on a merciless and uncompromising struggle against the social-patriotic and reactionary leaders, criticize and expose them and drive them out of power. The Communist Party will develop from its ranks the most determined fighters in the labor movement who, through courage, sacrifice, and class-consciousness, will inspire the masses with a spirit of determined struggle and win them over for the proletarian revolution. Only in this way can the disintegration of the unions be prevented, the reactionary leaders ousted from control, the bureaucratic machinery destroyed and replaced by the apparatus of shop delegates, and the trade unions broadened in scope and gradually developed into industrial unions.

Bearing in mind the necessity for the closest contact of the Communists with those workers who have not yet reached a revolutionary understanding, and the intensity of the struggle which requires the closest unity and solidarity of the workers on the economic field, the Communists shall not foster artificial division in the

labor movement, nor deliberately bring it about. On the contrary, they must use all measures, short of giving up the revolutionary task in the unions, not hesitating to employ strategy, to avoid giving to the reactionary leaders the pretext to expel them. The Communists must not fear a split when the circumstances leave them no alternative except to abandon the struggle to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary action. Such a split may be carried out only when the Communists, by the incessant warfare against the reactionary leaders and their tactics, and by their whole-hearted participation in the every-day struggles of the unions, have gained the confidence and the leadership of the workers, and are able to convince them that the split is occurring, not because of some remote revolutionary aim which they do not understand, but because it has been forced by the bureaucracy and because it is demanded by the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of the economic struggle. Even in such cases, the Communists must act with the greatest care and consider the possibility of such a split resulting in separating them from the working masses.

The Communist Party will lead and participate in every effort on the part of the unorganized workers to organize into unions—initiating the organization of unions where these do not exist—and will lead them in the class struggle towards the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party will work within the industrial unions of the I. W. W. where these are established and function as mass organizations of the workers; and will support them especially during strikes and mass movements. The Communist Party regards the workers in the ranks of the I. W. W. as comrades in the class war. At the same time, the Communist Party rejects the absurd theory, entertained by the I. W. W., that the revolution can be accomplished by the direct seizure of industry without first overthrowing the capitalist state. Only after the conquest of political power, after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, can the revolutionized industrial unions become the starting point for the Communist reconstruction of society. The Communist Party will put forth every effort to overcome the syndicalist prejudices of the members of the I. W. W., and to win them over to the position of the Communist International.

II.

The effort to transform the antiquated craft unions into more effective offensive and defensive instruments of the working class gives rise to the formation of rank and file organizations of the more advanced workers within the unions. The purpose of such organization is to more effectively wage the struggle for control of the unions and to oust the traitorous leaders. These expressions within the unions are a necessary feature of the

struggle to revolutionize the labor movement and must be crystallized by the Communist Party. The Communist Party will take an active part in this movement and co-ordinate it, fully utilizing for this purpose its press, nuclei and all other means, and lead it by degrees to the platform of Communism and thus make of it an auxiliary instrument of the Communist Party.

III.

The experience of the European labor movement indicates that out of the economic chaos developing in America the laboring masses will endeavor to create factory committees, such as the factory councils (Betriebs Rat) in Germany, which will undertake a struggle for workers' control over production. The aspiration to create such organizations takes its origin from the most varied causes, namely, struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, discouragement after a strike or defeat of the unions, or the desire to create an organization embracing all the workers, etc, but in the end, it results in the struggle for control over industry, which is their special historic task. These organizations should consist of the widest possible masses of workers and should not be formed exclusively of those who already understand and are fighting for the proletarian dictatorship. The Communist Party will organize all workers

on a basis of the economic crisis, and lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the concrete struggle for workers' control over industry.

The factory committees cannot be substituted for the trade unions. The trade unions are central fighting organs although they do not embrace such large masses of the workers as the factory committee, since these become accessible to all the workers of a given industry. The trade and industrial unions organize the workers on a national scale for the struggle to increase wages and shorten hours of labor. Factory committees fight for workers' control over production, in the struggle to resist the economic crisis, and embrace all the workers in a given industry. This division of tasks is the result of the historic development of the social revolution.

Factory committees are extra-union organizations and must not be confused with shop committees and the shop delegate system, which are part of the machinery of some labor unions. The shop committees and the shop delegate system constitute a form of union management whereby the power in the union rests in the hands of delegates elected by and from the workers in the shop. The Communist Party will advocate and promote this form of union management. At the same time it will expose the so-called "shop committees" which are organized by employers as substitutes for labor unions.

The Communist Party will propagate the idea of factory committees to the working class of America as an immediate and essential part of its general propaganda. It will lead the workers in their attempts to form factory committees and will initiate their organization when the necessary conditions arise.

IV.

Two Internationals of Trade Unions are struggling for supremacy. On the one hand, "The International Federation of Trade Unions," with headquarters at Amsterdam, endeavors with a subtle program of "Socialistic" reform to lure the labor unions into collaboration with the capitalist governments and leagues of governments. It seeks to paralyze and demoralize the working class of all countries simultaneously, in time of revolutionary crisis, in the interests of the capitalist class.

On the other hand is the Red Labor Union International, with headquarters at Moscow. This International of Trade and Industrial Unions unites the labor unions of the world for the carrying on of the labor struggle on the economic field in the interests of the working class as a whole. It wars on the capitalist class and all capitalist governments in close and indissoluble union with the Communist International.

The Communist Party will carry on an extensive propaganda for the affiliation of all organized labor in

America to the Red Labor Union International. Where revolutionary minorities or separate organizations within the American labor movement indorse the revolutionary program of the Red Labor Union International, the Communist Party will pursue the policy of keeping the revolutionary minorities within their national organizations for the purpose of combating any efforts at affiliation with the yellow Amsterdam International, and of bringing the entire labor movement of America into the Red International. The Communist Party will fully co-operate with the Red Labor Union International and any committees or bureaus it may establish to carry on its work in the American labor movement, in keeping with the decisions of the Communist International.

The Communist Party will strive to inspire all the organizations of labor with the spirit of determined struggle, i.e., with the spirit of Communism. The Communist Party will practically subordinate these and thus create a mass organization, a basis for a powerful centralized organ of the proletarian struggle. The Communist Party will lead them all to one aim, the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Communism.

Communist Party Nuclei

The Communist Party of America will organize party nuclei wherever there are proletarians or semi-proleta-

rians. These nuclei will be organized in trade and industrial unions, in factory committees, in working class educational or social organizations, in government institutions, in the army and navy, and in the organizations of the agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, small farmers, etc. These nuclei will enable the party to effectively carry on its propaganda. These nuclei will aid the party in leading the working masses in the proletarian revolution. Communist Party nuclei shall be subordinated one to another in a centralized order and system. They shall be under the control, supervision and discipline of the Communist Party of America.

Agricultural Workers and Farmers

Capitalism dominates agricultural production as well as all other functions of the economic life of society. The exploitation of the agricultural proletariat links up the interests of this class inseparably with the interests of the city proletariat. The forces which drive the city worker into conflict with the capitalist state are also at work in rural districts.

In the United States, the small farmers have time and again attempted to resist oppression and exploitation by the finance and industrial oligarchy. The Greenback movement in the '70's, the Populist movement in the '90's, and the present Non-Partisan movement are examples.

These small farmers are only nominally the owners

of parcels of land. They are mercilessly exploited by banks, commission merchants, transportation companies, farming implement trusts, absentee landlords, etc. The reform movements which have periodically swept over the country failed to ameliorate the conditions of the exploited rural masses. The position of the latter, like that of the city proletariat, is becoming steadily worse under the capitalist system.

The city proletariat must educate, win over, and lead in the class struggle these laboring and exploited masses of the country. In America, the latter are represented by the following groups:

1. The agricultural proletariat, that is, hired laborers, farm and harvest hands. They are wage workers on the large ranches, plantations and farms. They are largely migratory workers.

2. The semi-proletariat. These are the small farmers and tenant farmers. Through the land owned or rented by them, they secure only part of the sustenance needed by them and their families. They are compelled to work partly for wages in capitalist agricultural or industrial establishments.

3. The small proprietors—small farmers. The land owned by them is usually heavily mortgaged. They satisfy the needs of their families and farming without working for wages. These three groups constitute the

vast majority of the agrarian population of the United States. Co-operation of the city proletariat with the exploited agrarian masses is necessary to insure the success of the proletarian revolution.

The large landed farmers are capitalists in agriculture. They manage their own farms and employ foremen and laborers. This group constitutes a most numerous element of the bourgeoisie and is an open enemy of the proletariat.

Only the city proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, can emancipate the laboring masses from exploitation and oppression by the capitalists and landowners. Privation and imperialist wars are inevitable as long as the capitalist system endures. The salvation for the small farmer, tenant farmer, and farm worker lies only in a union with the revolutionary proletariat. They should whole-heartedly support the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in order to throw off the yoke of the landowners and bourgeoisie. The proletariat will become a truly revolutionary class only when it acts as the vanguard of all those who are exploited and suppressed and leads the struggle against the oppressors of the toiling masses.

The Communist Party of America will establish nuclei in the organizations of the exploited rural masses in order to win them away from the political and moral

influence of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party will carry the struggle into the agricultural districts and gather the toiling masses around the standard of Communism.

The Communist Party will initiate and support the organization of farm laborers and tenant farmers and will lead them to co-operation with the city proletariat in their struggle against their exploiters, toward the social revolution.

IMPERIALISM AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION

Since the Imperialist World War, the United States has become a creditor nation. It is now seeking new fields for the investment of capital. It is looking for new sources of raw material for its factories. Thus, America is brought into conflict with such Imperialism as the Japanese or English. This leads to imperialist wars in preparation for which the American bourgeoisie maintains huge military and naval establishments.

The recent imperialists' war has exposed the fraudulent character of bourgeois democracy. The war was waged by both sides under such false slogans as "rights of small nations" and "national self-determination." The Brest-Litovsk, the Bucharest and the Versailles Peace have clearly shown how the bourgeoisie established

their "national" boundaries in conformity with economic class interests. The so-called "league of nations" is only an insurance company, in which the victors are guaranteed their prey. The revolutionary struggle and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie alone can achieve national freedom and unity for the proletariat. Thus, the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries becomes ever more acute. The ferment of the working masses of the colonies and subject countries is increasing, and the middle class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and the equality of nations under capitalism is being dispelled.

The present world political situation has placed the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the foreground. All the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point—the struggle of the entire bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, the heart of the world Soviet movement. The Russian Soviet Republic is drawing to itself more and more closely not only the Soviet movement, carried on by the vanguard of the proletariat of all countries, but also the national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries. These have already been taught by bitter experience that salvation for them lies only in a union with the revolutionary proletariat and in the triumph of Soviet power over imperialism.

The United States was in its origin a colony of Eng-

land. It retained the characteristics of a colonial people and was a hinterland for Europe until after the American Civil War. The American capitalists had their own world to conquer and exploit within the present territorial confines of the United States, which contains fabulous resources and natural wealth. Millions of workmen and their families, lured by the false light of bourgeois democracy and the hope of economic security, came to this country. These immigrant workers were mercilessly exploited in the building up of capitalism in America, which forcibly annexed huge territories from its weaker neighbors through fraud and conquest. After the Spanish-American war, the United States definitely entered upon the conquest of world markets. An aggressive policy of imperialism was developed. Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Phillipines were conquered and subjected. The Caribbean and Central American republics are practically dependencies of the United States. Together with Mexico, they have been brought under the control of American finance imperialism by the constant threat of military intervention.

The Communist Party of America will support with all its power every movement for the liberation of the oppressed colonial peoples of the United States. The Communist Party will fight against the economic and military aggression of American capitalists upon the populations of the weaker American republics. The Com-

munist Party of America will carry on a systematic agitation in the American army and navy against every kind of oppression of the colonial peoples by American imperialism. It will strive to cultivate among the American proletariat a fraternal feeling towards the colonial working populations in all the nations that are under the iron heel of American capitalists. The Communist Party will systematically agitate against the oppression of the colonial peoples by American imperialism, and support every uprising on the part of these oppressed peoples. It will aid them in every way possible to throw off the yoke of American imperialism. The Communist Party will link up the struggle of the exploited toiling masses in the subject countries with that of the proletariat in America against their common enemy—the American capitalist and the subject countries' native bourgeoisie, who are only tools of the American capitalist class.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist International, brought forth by the proletarian revolution in action, is the central organ of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of world power. The revolutionary movement is growing in every country. But this movement of the proletarian revolution is menaced with suppression by

a coalition of capitalist states. The social-patriotic parties are uniting with each other to betray the revolution through service to the imperialist League of Nations. The co-ordination of proletarian action all over the world is imperative. The Communist International is an absolute necessity.

The Communist International subordinates the so-called national interests to the interest of the international proletarian revolution. The Communist International merges and centralizes the reciprocal aid of the proletariat of all countries. In order to accelerate the final collapse of the imperialistic system of the world, the Communist International supports the exploited colonial peoples in their struggles against imperialism.

The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the world for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of Communism. The Communist International is a fighting body and assumes the task of combining the revolutionary forces of every country.

In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the Communist Society, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms.

The Communist International breaks with the traditions of the Second International. The Communist International fraternally invites to its ranks the men and women of all colors and races—the toilers of the entire world. The Communist International declares that a firm and centralized organization is indispensable to a speedy achievement of victory. The Communist International represents the single universal Communist Party, of which the parties of the various countries are sections.

The Communist International calls the world proletariat to the final struggle against capitalism. The revolutionary epoch may last for years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope. The old order is in decay. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society.

CONSTITUTION OF THE C. P. OF A.

**Adopted at the Joint Unity Convention of the United
Communist Party and the Communist
Party of America**

Article I. Name, Purpose and Emblem

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the

Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International.

Section 2. The Communist Party of America is the vanguard of the working class, namely, its most advanced, class conscious and therefore and its most revolutionary part. Its purpose is to educate, direct and lead the working class of America for the conquest of political power; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society.

Section 3. The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle between sheaves of wheat and within a double circle. Below the hammer and sickle the words "All power to the workers." In the circular margin the words "Communist Party of America—Section of the Communist International."

Article II. Membership

Section 1. Every person who accepts the principles and the tactics of the Communist Party and of the Communist International, and agrees to submit to the Party discipline and engage actively in its work, shall be eligible for membership, provided he is not a member or supporter of any other political organization.

Section 2. No person whose livelihood is gained by ex-

exploiting labor shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party of America.

Section 3. Applicants shall be vouched for by two persons who have been members of the Party for at least six consecutive months, except in newly organized groups in new territory. Every applicant shall be assigned to a recruiting group on probation for three months, with voice but no vote. The applicants shall be accepted only upon examination and recommendation by the recruiting group captain, and by unanimous approval of the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 4. A special captain shall be placed in charge of each recruiting group by the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 5. An applicant shall pay one dollar initiation fee, and all dues and assessments beginning with the month in which he is accepted in the recruiting group.

Section 6. A member may transfer from one Party unit to another only upon certification of the Party unit to which he belongs. The unit granting the transfer must ascertain that the member asking for it has discharged all his Party obligations, and shall notify the unit to which the member transfers through the regular Party channels. He shall go to the group to which he is assigned by the Branch Executive Committee.

Article III. Form and Units of Organization

Section 1. The Communist Party of America is an underground, illegal organization. It is highly centralized with the Convention as its supreme body, and the Central Executive Committee acting as such between Conventions.

Section 2. The basic unit of the Party shall be a group of approximately ten members, and wherever possible not less than five.

Section 3. Groups of the same language within a city or locality shall form a Branch. Branches shall consist of not more than ten groups each.

Section 4. Branches within a locality shall form a Section. Sections shall consist as nearly as possible of ten Branches, and shall be formed wherever there are two or more Branches within a locality.

Section 5. Sub-districts shall consist of not more than ten Sections and of isolated Branches within a territory prescribed by the District Executive Committee.

Section 6. All Sub-districts within a prescribed territory shall form a District. The limits of Districts are determined by the Central Executive Committee. Districts and Sub-districts shall be organized within industrial sections regardless of political boundaries.

Article IV. Conventions

Section 1. The Convention is the supreme body of the

Party, and shall be called by the Central Executive Committee at least once a year.

Section 2. Emergency Conventions, with all the powers of regular Conventions, shall be called by the Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative or upon the demand of District Conventions representing a majority of the membership.

Section 3. (a) Elections to the Convention shall begin in the groups. Each group shall elect one elector to the Section Convention, and the Section Convention shall elect delegates to the District Convention. Branches that are directly connected with the Sub-district shall send their delegates to the nearest Section. The representation in the Section and the District electors' meeting and in the Convention of the Party shall be fixed by the Convention call, issued by the Central Executive Committee.

(b) If there are more than fifteen groups in a Section, the Sub-district Committee shall subdivide the Section for the elections so that no more than fifteen attend a Section electors' meeting. Wherever necessary, units shall be combined to comply with the accepted basis of representation.

Section 4. The number of delegates shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee according to the circumstances. Delegates shall be apportioned to the Districts in proportion to the membership.

Section 5. Section, Sub-district and District Organizers

of the Party shall attend the electors' meetings of their respective and subordinate units, and shall have voice but no vote, unless elected as delegates themselves.

Section 6. Section, Sub-district and District electors' meetings may elect as their delegates members of the Party from any unit outside their territorial divisions.

Section 7. At the same time that the call for the Convention is issued, the Central Executive Committee shall submit to every group for discussion the Agenda and other propositions that are to come before the Convention. At least sixty days before the Convention, the Party Press shall be opened for discussion of important Party matters.

Section 8. Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid railroad expenses and the same wages as Party officials.

Article V. Central Executive Committee

Section 1. Between Conventions the Central Executive Committee shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall direct all the Party's activities.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of ten members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect six alternates. When the list of alternates shall have been exhausted the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to co-optation.

Section 3. All Central Executive Committee members

shall devote all their time to the work of the Party and shall live in the city in which the National Headquarters are located, or in adjacent cities.

Section 4. Candidates for the Central Executive Committee must have been members of a Party affiliated with the Communist International at least eighteen months.

Section 5. The identity of the Central Executive Committee members shall not be made known either by themselves or by those present at the Convention.

Section 6. The Central Executive Committee shall elect delegates to the International Congresses and the Communist Party of America members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Section 7. The Central Executive Committee shall call in the District Organizers for a conference at least every six months.

Section 8. The Central Executive Committee shall make a monthly report of the Party activities and Party finances itemized by Districts.

Section 9. A complete audit and accounting of all Party funds shall be made every six months. The auditing committee shall consist of three members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect three alternates. No member of the Central Executive Committee and no paid Party employee shall be a member of the auditing commit-

tee. The report of the auditing committee shall be made to the membership, within one month after the completion of its work.

Article VI. Districts and Subordinate Units.

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers for each District.

Section 2. Every District Organizer shall make complete reports to the District Executive Committee as to the general Party work in his District. He shall submit and carry out the instructions and decisions of the Central Executive Committee. He shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the Central Executive Committee at least once a month.

Section 3. District Conventions shall be held at least every six months. Every Section shall send delegates to the District Convention in proportion to the membership. The District Convention shall elect five members to the District Executive Committee. These five members, together with the District Organizer and the Subdistrict Organizers, shall constitute the District Executive Committee. The District Executive Committee shall supervise the activities of the District Organizer and shall regularly submit the minutes of its meetings to the Central Executive Committee. All actions of the District Convention are subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. District Organizers shall appoint Sub-district Organizers subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. Sub-district Organizers shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the District Organizers once a week.

Section 6. The Sub-district Organizer shall call meetings of the Sub-district Executive Committee at least every two weeks. He shall make a complete report to the Sub-district Executive Committee, and transmit and carry out the decisions and the instructions of the Central Executive Committee, the District Organizer and the District Executive Committee.

Section 7. The Sub-district Executive Committee shall consist of the Sub-district Organizer, the Section Organizers and the Organizers of the isolated Branches having direct connections with the Sub-district.

Section 8. The Section Executive Committee shall consist of Branch Organizers and shall elect Section Organizers.

Section 9. Branch Organizers shall be elected by the group captains. They shall work under the direction of the Section Organizers and shall meet at least once a week.

Section 10. The Branch Executive Committee shall consist of the Branch Organizer and the group captains of the Branch. The Branch Executive Committee shall meet at least once a week.

Section 11. District Organizers, Sub-district Organizers, Section and Branch Organizers shall have been members of the Party not less than one year. Group captains six months.

Section 12. Executive Committees of the various Party units have authority to act within their jurisdiction, subject to the decisions of the higher Party units.

Section 13. Each group shall meet at least once every week under the direction of the group captain, who shall make a complete report to his group on all Party work, on the activities of the Branch and of all other Party units.

Article VII. Language Federations

Section 1. Language groups shall consist of members speaking the same language. Language groups in the same locality shall be formed into Language Branches; all Branches of the same language shall be united into Language Federations, provided they have at least 250 members.

Section 2. All language groups and branches shall be integral parts of the Party structure in their localities, and shall perform and carry out all Party functions and obligations.

Section 3. (a) Shortly after Party Conventions, National Language Conferences shall be held. The expenses of these conference shall be paid out of the regular Party treasury.

(b) These National Conferences shall formulate plans for education and propaganda in their respective languages, both legal and illegal, and shall elect National Language Bureaus consisting of not less than five and not more than seven members each, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All actions of these conferences shall be in strict conformity with the decisions of the Party Convention and the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. National Language Bureaus shall elect editors for their legal and illegal publications, and shall supervise all legal and illegal activities of their respective Federations, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. The minutes of the National Language Bureaus shall be regularly submitted to the Central Executive Committee and all their actions shall be subject to the direction, control and approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 6. (a) For illegal work, the National Language Bureaus shall connect with their respective Branches through their Language Federation Channels, or, if necessary, through regular Party channels of communication.

(b) They shall have the right to appoint Organizers, including District and Sub-district Language Organizers, subject to approval of the Central Executive Committee.

(c) All Language Organizers shall work under the su-

pervision of the Party District Organizers in the various districts.

Section 7. National Language Bureaus shall translate and transmit all statements, circulars and communications addressed to the membership by the Central Executive Committee within one week after their receipt. They shall issue at least once a month an underground official organ in their respective languages, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 8. (a) Language Groups and Branches shall pay all their dues and assessments through the regular Party channels to the Central Executive Committee.

(b) By the 10th of each month the Central Executive Committee shall remit 20 cents of the dues received from each member of the Language Branches to the respective National Language Bureaus.

(c) Additional expenses of Language Bureaus, authorized by the Central Executive Committee, shall be paid from the regular Party treasury.

(d) The National Language Bureau shall account to the Central Executive Committee regularly for all funds entrusted to them and shall make regular financial reports to the Central Executive Committee regarding all the legal institutions in their respective languages, subject to the audit of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 9. (a) Special assessment for language work

may be recommended by the Language Bureaus and may be levied by the Central Executive Committee upon the entire Party membership.

(b) Special assessments may also be levied by the National Language Bureaus on the membership of their Federations, with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 10 (a) Language Bureaus and Federations shall have no power to suspend, expel or reorganize affiliations. All disciplinary powers are vested exclusively in the regular Party organization machinery.

(b) Language Bureaus and Federations may recommend such suspension, expulsion or reorganization to the party units having jurisdiction.

Section 11. District Language Conferences shall be called by the District Executive Committee to discuss educational and propaganda needs of their languages in the district and to elect five members to the District Language Bureaus. These, together with the Federation District Organizer and the Federation Sub-district Organizer, shall constitute the District Language Bureau. The District Language Bureau shall carry on the work in their respective languages under the direction of the District Executive Committee.

Article VIII. Discipline

Section 1. All members and Party units shall maintain

and enforce strict Party discipline. All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units.

Section 2. The following offenses are breaches of Party discipline:

- 1) Violation of the fundamental principles of the program and the Constitution of the Party.
- 2) Refusal to accept and carry out the decisions of the Party.
- 3) Wilfully to block and disrupt Party work and the co-operation of the various Party units.
- 4) Knowingly and unnecessarily to endanger the underground work of the Party.
- 5) In any way to betray the Party trust.

Section 3. Formal charges must be presented against any member or unit accused of breach of discipline, and these must be investigated by the next higher unit before discipline is enforced.

Section 4. Members deliberately accusing any member or unit of the Party, after accusation has been found groundless by the investigating committee, are subject to discipline.

Section 5. Members may be suspended or expelled by the Branch Executive Committee subject to approval of the Section Executive Committee.

Section 6. Groups may be suspended, expelled or re-

organized by the Section Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Sub-district Executive Committee.

Section 7. Branches may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the Sub-district Executive Committee subject to the approval of the District Executive Committee.

Section 8. A Section or Sub-district may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the District Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee .

Section 9. Districts may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the Central Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Convention.

Section 10. Members or groups suspended or expelled may appeal to the District Executive Committee before final action is taken.

Section 11. Any higher unit in the Party may present charges against any subordinate unit or member within its jurisdiction.

Section 12. Every member of the Communist Party elected or appointed to an official position in a labor union or any other organization shall be under strict Party control and the immediate instructions of the Party nucleus of his labor union or other organization.

Section 13. No delegates to the National Convention shall be bound by decisions of the units by which they

are elected. Delegates are obliged to present instructions as recommendations to the Convention.

Section 14. The Central Executive Committee shall maintain discipline over its members. It may suspend or expel one of its members by a vote of eight to one, accused member not voting.

Section 15. Any suspended or expelled member of the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to appeal in writing to the next National Party Convention.

Article IX. Finance

Section 1. Applicants for membership shall pay an initiation fee of One Dollar, which shall be forwarded to the National Organization.

Section 2. Monthly dues shall be sixty cents and shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee and paid into the National Party treasury through the regular Party channels.

Section 3. Special assessments may be levied by the Convention and the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he pays such assessments.

Section 4. Members unable to pay dues and assessments on account of sickness, unemployment, imprisonment, strikes or for similar reasons, shall be granted exemption upon

application to the Branch Executive Committee. Group Organizers shall include such requests in their reports, and Branch Organizers shall report all exemptions granted every time they make their remittances for dues.

Section 5. Dues shall be paid monthly. No advance payments shall be made, and members who have not paid dues by the first of the month for the previous month shall be considered in bad standing. A member who is two months in arrears shall be dropped from the membership, unless within one month after notification by the Group Organizer he places himself in good standing.

Article X. Party Press

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall publish the official underground organ of the Party, which shall be issued at least once a month.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee shall issue a bi-weekly Party bulletin which shall be distributed to the membership free of charge.

Section 3. Literature issued by the Party shall be under the supervision of the editorial committee and under the control of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. No subdivision of the Party may publish papers or books without the permission of the Central Executive Committee. Over their own signature, Sections may is-

sue leaflets, dealing with matters in their locality, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee or such District Committees as may be so empowered by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. All legal and illegal Party press and publishing machinery, including Federation press and establishments, shall be unconditionally and fully subject to the Party through its Central Executive Committee or such other Party units as may be expressly authorized by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 6. No member of the Party shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic nature to the bourgeois press except by permission of the Central Executive Committee.

Article XI. Party Nuclei

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall provide for the organization of Communist Party nuclei, composed of Communist Party members only, in the shops, in the unions, and in other workers' organizations; within the army and navy, and ex-soldiers' organizations.

PROVISIONS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY NUCLEI IN THE SHOPS AND UNIONS

Article I.

Section 1. In order to carry out the Communist task in the labor unions and shops, the Section Executive Committees of the Party, or the Sub-district Executive Committees (where there are two or more Sections in a city) shall organize Party Nuclei in the shops and unions.

Section 2. Every Party member shall belong to a labor union, if eligible.

Section 3. All Party members belonging to a labor union shall be affiliated with the Party Nuclei in their respective unions. Members who do not belong to any union shall, wherever possible, form and belong to Party Nuclei in their shops, trade or industry.

Section 4. Each Nucleus shall consist of about 10 members. The Nuclei shall elect their captains and these captains shall form the Nuclei Committee of their respective union locals, trades or shops.

Section 5. Where two or more locals of the same union exist in a city, Party Nuclei in these locals of the union shall be connected with each other through organizers elected by the Nuclei for each local of the union.

Section 6. The Nuclei Organizers for the various unions shall be appointed by the Section or Sub-district Executive Committees. These Organizers shall constitute the Industrial Department of the respective Party sub-divisions.

Section 7. In order to co-ordinate and centralize the work of the Nuclei on a national scale, the C. E. C. of the Party shall organize a National Industrial Department, and through it appoint District Nuclei Organizers, who shall be members ex-officio (with voice but no vote) of the District Executive Committee.

Section 8. The District Nuclei Organizer shall appoint, subject to the approval of the District Executive Committee, the Section or Sub-district Nuclei Organizers, who shall

be in charge of the Section or Sub-district Industrial Department.

Section 9. All Party Nuclei shall be subject to the discipline and decisions of the Party, and shall, in their various localities, be under the control of the Section or Sub-district Executive Committees.

Article II.

Section 1. All local Industrial Departments shall submit for the approval of the Section or Sub-district E. C. any general plan of action which they intend to carry out in the unions or industry.

Section 2. Section or Sub-district Industrial Departments may be authorized by the District Executive Committee to issue leaflets in connection with the various problems arising from the daily struggle of the workers in the shops and unions. Such leaflets shall not attempt the exposition of general communist principles and tactics, and shall not be signed in the name of the Communist Party. Copies of all leaflets issued by the Industrial Departments shall be sent through regular Party channels to the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Section 3. Communist Nuclei shall not participate in a

split within a local labor union without the approval of the District Executive Committee. In case of a split in their national unions, C. P. Nuclei shall not participate without the approval of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Section 4. Party members may accept paid positions in the unions, provided that they can further Communist propaganda.
